



THEY MASSACRE SIKHS

A WHITE PAPER

BY

SIKH RELIGIOUS PARLIAMENT
(Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee)

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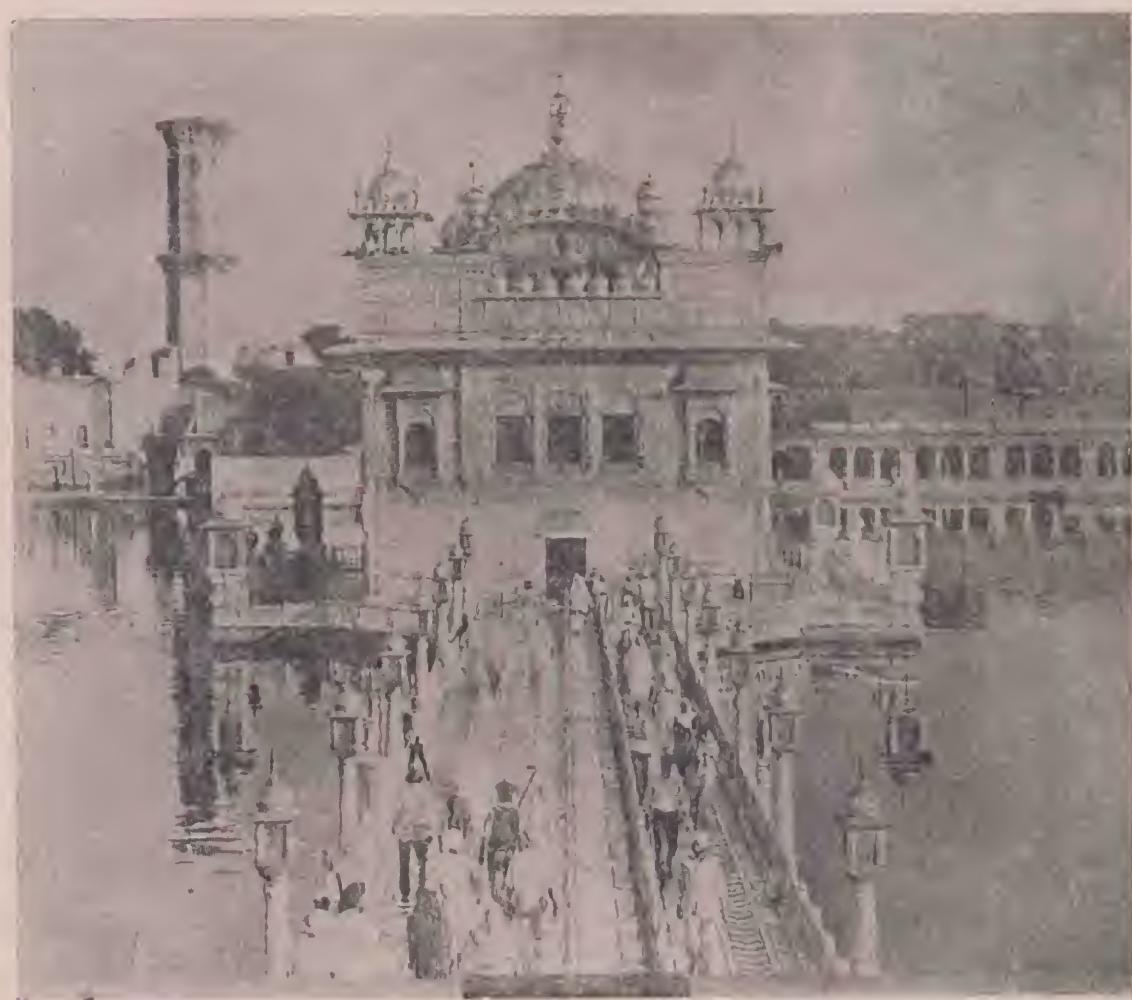
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THE GOLDEN TEMPLE AMRITSAR

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1. THEY MASSACRE SIKHS

On the 13th of April, 1978, the sacred day of Baisākhī for Hindus and Sikhs both, the day on which the Tenth Nanak, Guru Gobind Singh, finally shaped and completed the way of life for the Sikhs, in 1699, by ordaining a political nation, the apotheosis of Sikhism, the Khalsa, assigning to the Sikh people the task of inserting themselves into history to bring about social changes and cultural trends for the good and benefit of mankind, a dozen and a half men, the cream of the Sikh society, were massacred by an organised band, when these peaceful Sikhs were on their way to a pre-arranged concourse and gathering of a new permissive sect where, admittedly, grave and malicious insults were being audaciously, hurled against the Sikh religion and Sikh beliefs and sentiments, to dissuade them from it. About one million Sikh pilgrims had gathered at Amritsar on this sacred Baisakhi day, a day on which Jallianwala Bagh massacre had taken place in 1919. Now, a batch of a few dozen prominent Sikhs marched bare-footed and unarmed from Ajit Nagar, where they were reciting Gurbani Kirtan, to the gathering of these traducers of Sikhism, but they were stopped at a distance of about two hundred yards away from their venue for a period that proved sufficient for a para-military platoon, armed with lethal weapons, guns, revolvers, acid-filled bottles and mechanical projectiles for shooting poison-tipped arrows, to emerge from the Sikh-baiters' gathering and take up positions behind a row of motor trucks already lined on one side. The Sikh protesters had, in the meantime, been persuaded by police officers on duty

into believing that steps were being taken to stop further provocations to Sikh religious sentiments. Then, the voice of the Chief of these Sikh-baiters was heard outside through the elaborate sound-system set up within their enclosure, saying : "these Sikhs think they can stop us from freely carrying out our programme. Let them know today, how mistaken they are. Time has come to beactive for those, who havecome here for this job". At this stage a para-military platoon briskly advanced towards the Sikh-protesters who, in the meantime, had been joined by many more men, to make a concerted attack on the Sikhs, with bullets, acid-bottles and poisoned arrows. The police on duty hurled tear-gas bombs against the unarmed Sikhs, ostensibly to disperse them, but converting them into sitt-ing ducks for their hunters and shikaris. One of these hapless Sikhs, a highly devout, well known and well-educated person was wounded grievously though not fatally, with multiple bullet wounds when an attacker shot at him at close range to finish the job. Before this coup-de-grace, however, the Sikh was informed by his killer that, "you are a really troublesome person." Thus died Fauja Singh.

2. AFTERMATH

It did not take long for this drama to reach its denouement. A dozen and a half Sikhs lay dead on the spot, riddled with bullets. Over forty Sikhs received serious injuries with bullets, sharp-edged weapons and blunt lathis, and another one hundred Sikhs received grievous injuries requiring medical attention. Some passers-by, including a Muslim labourer, is amongst the dead and two or three of the dead persons are claimed by the Sikh-baiters as belonging to their own "religious" sect, though the Sikh-baiters have failed to come forward to support it by having a formal case registered with the police for proper investigation. It is widely rumoured

that many dead bodies of the Sikhs were taken into possession by their killers and dragged into their enclosure but now no trace is available of them. The huge gathering of the Sikh-baiters that was scheduled to be formally addressed also by a Punjab State non-Sikh Minister and an influential non-Sikh, Jullundur news paper owner, continued undisturbed for some three hours even after this massacre of the Sikhs, about two hundred yards away, and the instigator and organiser of this holocaust, the presiding deity of this Sikh-baiters' organisation, was leisurely and safely escorted out of Punjab, with high Government officers, respectfully acting as his escort. Two car-loads of lethal weapons, earlier brought in, were also thus taken away. On reaching Delhi he was promptly granted an interview with the Prime Minister of India from whom he demanded full adequate arrangements guaranteeing his personal and his followers' protection. A case for murdered Sikhs on the 13th of April, 1978, at Amritsar, has been registered by the police authorities and caches of lethal weapons and other arms have been recovered from the Amritsar meeting place and other organisational centres of these Sikh-baiters. A number of suspects have been arrested and detained in judicial lock-up for further action.

3. ITS TRUE SHAPE

A press-report describes this pre-planned massacre of the Sikhs, as a "clash" and the mass media refers to the killed and injured Sikhs as "Nihangs" and their killers as "Nirankaris". This is in keeping with age-old practice to place the truth on the scaffold and falsehood on the throne, to safeguard vested interests and to crucify the innocent. But the good people, every where, and men of good-will of the international community, would want to know the truth the un-masked truth.

4. THE KILLER AND THE KILLED

A "clash" is where two objects or factions strike noisily against each other. Where the striking and the sound is wholly one-sided, there is no "clash", and yet almost the entire non-Sikh Press, refers to this massacre of Sikhs as a "clash". As the facts are, almost all the dead persons of this "clash" are the Sikh protesters, each one of them an educated, well-employed citizen and a disciplined, dedicated and devout Sikh, barring a stray Muslim labourer, and two or three other passers-by, whom now the killers claim as their own, but decline to have their claim properly investigated. All the killed Sikh protesters have been found as unarmed, wearing sheathed, short-sized religious symbol, *kirpān*. It was, thus, a "clash", such as occurred in A.D. 1919 at the Jallianwala Bagh at Amritsar, on the Baisakhi day, between the peaceful Indian citizens, assembled to protest against the outrageous Rowlatt Act and the fully armed Gurkha soldiers of General Dyer.

5. BAD NAME

The killed Sikh protesters are almost invariably referred to, in the non-Sikh Press and the other national media, as "nihangs", "armed with traditional weapons", and the killers are, with tender solicitude, described as *nirankāris*, "the worshippers of the form-less God." Weapons can kill the innocent and the unarmed, but words are even deadlier, for, the Word was in the Beginning and the words cannot only conceal the murder but make the murderer look like injured innocence itself.

6. THE NIHANGS

What is a Nihang? Nihangs are the traditional remnants of the holy militia of Guru Gobind Singh

(1666-1707) who dress in their ancient dark-blue uniforms and carry their traditional arms, mainly a spear, a sword and a quoitus as emblems of their inner dedication to the Sikh religion. For the last three centuries, they have lived a semi-monastic dedicated life, in this style, even under the British rule and they lead peaceful and disciplined lives. Even during the Sikh hegemony and sovereignty in the north of India, they were never known to have committed an act of unprovoked violence or wanton killing. Their spirit of public-service, their deathless daring and matchless bravery in battle, has invariably won unqualified praise and approbation from friends and foes, in the past. Nihangs are not outlandish outlaws and anti-social desperados, as a section of the Urdu & Hindi Jullundur Press paints them. Amongst those killed on the 13th April, 1978 at Amritsar, there was found not a single nihang, unless every citizen who does not keep a shingled and bared head, wears dark coloured dust-concealing Indian garb, does not wear a loose *dhoti*, nor shaves his beard, is to be castigated as a nihang and condemned as a potential criminal in our free India. Who are these killers of the Sikhs, almost reverently referred to as *nirankāris*, the 'worshippers of the formless God', is, however, another story.

7. TRUE NIRANKARIS

In the late twenties and early thirties of the nineteenth century, there arose and flourished a Sikh puritanical movement in the north western provinces of the Sikh Commonwealth, the *Sarkar-i-Khalsa*, the adherents of which movement called themselves *nirankāris*, following the first description that Guru Nanak gave of himself, "Nanak, the *nirankāri*": "I am Nanak, the worshipper of the Form-less God." This movement is not a separate sect of Sikhism; they practise the principles with unwavering devotion and without laxity. After the expulsion of

the Sikhs from what is now Pakistan, the headquarters of these true *nirankāri* Sikhs shifted from Rawalpindi to Chandigarh, and they now live in the Indian Punjab and the rest of India, hard working and prosperous, indistinguishable from the general mass of the Sikh community, except by their marked piety and devotion to religion. Their basic slogan is : *dhan nirankār, deh dhārī sabh khwār*, that is, 'All praise to the Formless God; all forms are perishable'. In the second part of this slogan, the students of comparative religions will detect the echo of the basic Buddhist 'noble truth', *sab anitta*, or an affirmation of the last words on earth of Goutam, the Buddha, *vyadhamma sankhara* : 'all aggregates must disintegrate' which is also the true Sikh doctrine. The first part of this slogan is the common ground between all higher religions, the Vedic religion, Brahminism, Islam and Judaism, including Sikhism. The first part of this slogan, *dhan nirankār*, however, has also been adopted by the Sikh-baiters and pseudo-*nirakāris*, with the tongue in cheek, for they supplement this slogan by adding : *aiyā gurū bachan avtār, sāre jag dā pālan hār*, "God has descended in human form as Gurbachan Singh, the Light and Guide of mankind, and verily, he is the Sustainer of the entire Universe." A few words are necessary about the genesis, the doctrines and practices of this 'Sustainer of the entire Universe', Gurbachan Singh, the Chief of the Sikh-killers at Amritsar, and his followers.

8. PSEUDO - NIRANKĀRIS

One Būta Singh (1883-1944) was a paid hymn-singer at Rawalpindi headquarters of the true *nirankāris*, but was dismissed and expelled from their congregations on account of his excessive addiction to alcohol and lax morals. He tried to set up a rival or separate *nirankāri* congregation at Peshawar to eke out a living, but met

with no success and died in penury with a revolting disease. He gathered another unemployed companion, Avtar Singh by name, who was making a precarious living by baking bread and selling his own products as a pedlar in the streets of Peshawar, till 1947. when he migrated to Delhi as a refugee. The common bond between Būta Singh and this Avtar Singh was their partiality for alcohol and sex and their firm conviction that men are easiest to dupe in the name of religion, leading to easy money and sumptuous living. The 'success' that had evaded Avtar Singh in the pre-partition Punjab smiled on him in Delhi where he rented a small tenement in the Paharganj area and publicised, through agents, employed on commission-basis, that he, Avtar Singh, could reveal the 'Face of God' to anybody at a short notice and for a moderate fee. Miserable refugees from western Pakistan, hapless and haggard, fell an easy prey to one who promised instant peace of mind, for a small fee, but without demanding any curbs of self-discipline or self-denial. A new religion was born, the cardinal doctrines of which were as simple as simplicity and as acceptable as sin. This Avtar Singh died in 1969 in Delhi, afflicted with cancer and other revolting diseases after proclaiming that his son Gurbachan Singh, aged 41 then, was the God Almighty. This new 'religion' of liberatinism and permissiveness has three basic tenets, proclaimed openly, solemnly and authoritatively through the written and the spoken word : (1) Believe that Avtar Singh and subsequently, his son, Gurbachan, is God Almighty in human form, having the authority and charisma of all the past prophets of mankind, out of whom, Moses, Mohammad, Christ, Krishna, Rama and Guru Nanak are specifically mentioned by name. In the *Illustrated Weekly*, Bombay, 24th October, 1971, this claim is unequivocally made. (2) No sin can touch or tarnish those who cherish full faith in the cent per cent

Divinity of Avtar Singh and his progeny. In the officially sponsored write-up about this Gurbachan Singh, published in the *Illustrated Weekly*, a prominent follower of this modern religion tells us :

‘Before I was converted to this new faith,
I was an agnostic (i.e. a misguided Sikh).
Gurbachan Singh has completely changed my psyche.
I now freely consume beef and pork.
I also freely indulge in alcoholic drinks.
This makes no deleterious effect on my inner
purity and spiritual progress.’—(as reproduced in the, *Nakli Nirankārā, infra*, p. 126).

Likewise, in the divinely inspired *anubhavī gyān* of the *Sant Nirankari* issue of June, 1964 (p. 16), we are informed that the followers of Gurbachan Singh are beyond good and evil, freed from all moral controls, ethical shackles and social censure :

‘My blessed followers are free to indulge in whatever they desire.

Nothing is pure ; nothing is impure—
All fellow-believers merrily tread this straight path.’”

The third tenet of this modern religion is a logical corollary. (3) The only thing forbidden to the followers of this new ‘religion’ is, social censure of any fellow-believer for whatever he may or may not do in his personal life. All these three doctrines are unambiguously and repeatedly proclaimed and reiterated in the authoritative and official corpus of writings of these pseudo-*Nirankāris*, their ghost-written scripture, *Avtār-bānī* and their official periodical : *Santnirankārī*. The *Avtār-bānī*, a book of cheap contents in crude Punjabi diction proclaims this divine revelation for the enlightenment of the modern man : “In the Beginning, in the middle and at

1. ਜੇ ਜੀ ਚਾਰੇ ਸੋ ਪਾਂਦੇ ਨੇ । ਜੇ ਜੀ ਚਾਹੇ ਸੋ ਪਾਂਦੇ ਨੇ ।
ਕੁਝ ਜੂਨਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੋਈ ਸੁਚਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਇਹ ਇੱਕੋ ਪਿਆਲੇ ਪਾਂਦੇ ਨੇ ।

the End of All things, Formless God is ever and for ever more... He is the Creator-omnipotent under the name and style of Avtar Singh. The mother of the Universe (Mrs. Avtar Singh), therefore, would have every one known that Gurbachan Singh is the only true Guide and Light for mankind, for, he is, verily, the God Almighty incarnate."¹ May, 1964 issue (p. 9) of the official publication of this 20th century World-religion informs all and sundry that "Avtar Singh is *Allah* returned to Earth and *God* also has been brought along. *Rama* frolics in his lap, for, he, Avtar Singh, is the One and only God, the Lord come down to Earth."² Again, February, 1966 issue of this periodical reveals the 'fundamental truth to the whole world' thus : "The whole world must know this fundamental truth, here He is (as Avtar Singh), the Creator of the World. He is the only everlasting and undying One, all else is perishable."³ Lest doubts should disturb sceptical temperaments as to the authority of 'the Mother of the Universe' to invest her son, Gurbachan Singh, as 'the Creator-omnipotent God', here is the logical argument to dispel all doubts, given in the modern scripture, *Avtar-bāṇī* itself.

"She who marries a medico is automatically called a lady-medico. She who weds a school teacher is known as a female teacher.

1. ਆਦ ਮਧ ਤੇ ਅੰਤ ਤਕ ਕਾਇਮ ਹੈ ਨਿਰੰਗਾਰ ।
ਆਪੇ ਸਭ ਕੁਛ ਕਰ ਰਿਖੇ ਨਾਂ ਰਖ ਕੇ ਅਵਤਾਰ ।
ਜਗਤ ਮਾਤਾ ਨੇ ਜਗਤ ਨੂੰ ਕਿਹਾ ਅੰਤ ਪੁਕਾਰ ।
ਗੁਰਬਚਨ ਗੁਰੂ ਹੈ ਜਗਤ ਦਾ ਆਪੇ ਹੈ ਅਵਤਾਰ ।
2. ਅਲਾਹ ਆਪੇ ਮੁੜ ਆਇਆ ਜੇ । ਗਾਡ ਭੀ ਨਾਲ ਲਿਆਇਆ ਜੇ ।
ਰਾਮ ਭੀ ਇਸ ਦੀ ਬੁਕਲ ਖੇਲੋ, ਇਹ ਰਥ ਆਪੇ ਆਇਆ ਜੇ ॥
3. ਦੁਨੀਆ ਵਾਲਿਓ ਦਸਾਂ ਮੌਂ ਗਲ ਇਕੋ, ਇਹ ਬੈਠਾ ਜੇ ਦੁਨੀਆ ਬਣਾਉਣ ਵਾਲਾ ।
ਸਦਾ ਏਸ ਨੇ ਕੈਮ ਤੇ ਏਮ ਰਹਿਣਾ, ਬਾਕੀ ਜਗ ਹੈ ਆਉਣ ਤੇ ਜਣ ਵਾਲਾ ॥।

I, by becoming the spouse of Avtar Singh, have been exalted as 'the Queen of the Universe'.¹

But off and on, the current 'Sustainer of the entire Universe', Gurbachan Singh, makes such statements in Press and on platform as he finds necessary to tide over a particular situation, which statement is supposed to have no binding-force on him or his followers, since he is, *ex hypothesis*, immaculate and utterly pure and no sin can touch or tarnish his followers. The late Avtar Singh was wholly illiterate and ignorant person but he was amply endowed with the shrewdness of a petty pedlar. His "Scripture" was ghosted by a cheap pen-pusher, whose identity is known. The current "Sustainer of the entire Universe", Gurbachan Singh, is a scooter-repairer by training and his educational progress did not proceed beyond upper primary standards, an admission he has repeatedly made in public statements and through issues of his official periodical.² The followers that he gathered around himself remained limited in number till about ten years ago, when he was catapulted into a world-figure, overnight, with branches of his 'Mission' in over a hundred countries and with huge activity-centres and properties throughout India. His private and family assets are now believed to be computable in millions of rupees. High politics, secret and practically unlimited patronage and resources, have endowed Gurbachan Singh with vast affluence and power.

9. MORAL DECAY

This, however, Gurbachan Singh's phenomenal access to affluence and power, popularity and prestige, is

1. ਡਾਕਟਰ ਦੇ ਲੜ ਲਗੀ ਬਣ ਗਈ ਆਪੇ ਡਾਕਟਰਨੀ।
ਮਾਸਟਰ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਲਈਆਂ ਲਾਵਾਂ ਸਤ ਜਗ ਆਖੇ ਮਾਸਟਰਨੀ।
ਅਵਤਾਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਦੇ ਲੜ ਮੈਂ ਲਗੀ ਬਣ ਗਈ ਜਗ ਦੀ ਰਾਣੀ ਮੈਂ॥
3. *Sant Nirankārī, ibid.*, April, Oct., Nov. 1964.

not a point of contention between Gurbachan Singh, his followers and the Sikhs. Nor is the moral laxity, unbridled permissiveness and disintegrative malaise which he and his movement foster in society, a direct issue between the Sikhs and these pseudo-nirankāris. Retreat from religious and absolute moral values is a world-wide phenomenon and permissiveness, sex-promiscuity, moral laxity and social disintegration is by no means, peculiar to India today ; the phenomenon is world-wide and oecumenical, the reasons for which are deep-seated and historical. Nor is this phenomenon exceptional to modern times. It erupts, it seems, whenever there is an onset of decay and deterioration in social cohesiveness and moral vitality of a culture or civilisation. Gibbon has noted emergence of all sorts of sects and societies, "Oriental religions", as he calls them, when the Roman Empire weakened and disintegrated. In *Bhagvadgītā*, we are told that, "as moral decay sets in, men take to adulation of and subservience to mortal humans and abandon worship of the unseen God" : *sivānām pūjā parityajaye manūssānām upsanam*. The Sikh pious text of Bhai Gurdas (d. 1637) tell us that a symptom of moral decay is that, "social censure and absolute moral judgment disappear and men become playthings of their own passing fancies and corruptive passions", *koi kisai na varjai soi karaj joi mana bhāvai*. Guru Gobind Singh provides us with a key to an understanding of this phenomenon by revealing that, "there shall arise an Absolute God in every house, altogether contemptible and regarded men these". : *ghar ghar hoe behenge rāmā, tinu te sari hai na kou kāmā*. Have our pseudo-nirankāris taken their cue from *Bhagvadgītā*, Bhai Gurdas and Guru Gobind Singh, in founding their new religion for the modern miserable man, in utter defiance and contempt of the Voice behind the *Bhagvadgītā*, the Inspiration behind Bhai Gurdas and the Light in Guru

Gobind Singh ? Sri Dina Nath, Sidhantalankar, an eminent writer, in the April, 1973 issue of the Hindi Monthly, *Jana Gyān* (p. 30) tells us that

"there is a deluge of bogus gods-incarnate and hypocritical *gurus* in India, these days. Currently, there are over two hundred and fifty persons thriving in India who claim to be gurus or gods incarnate. Some of them stake the claim that they are the supreme god, Vishnu, others proclaim that they are the god of gods, Siva, and still others assert that they are incarnations of Sri Rama Chandra, Lord Krishna, or the Final Incarnation heralding the End of the World, mmaculate Kalki."

10. THE ISSUE

The issue between the Sikhs and Gurbachan Singh and his caucus is three-fold. (1) The main thrust and the real salience of this movement is anti-Sikhism, and its permissiveness and promiscuity is secondary. (2) Its methodology is denigration and coarse ridicule of Sikh doctrines and practices and malicious outraging of Sikh religious sentiments, and insulting Sikh religious beliefs. (3) Its dynamism is politics, promoted and prompted by political power that aims at degrading and demoralising the Sikh people permanently, to deprive them of the control of their own history and their spiritual potential and thus reducing them into secondary citizens and camp-followers, so as, eventually, to divest them of their living separateness, shrinking them into a footnote in History. Let this be explained briefly.

11. SIKH - BAITING

The Chief of these pseudo - *nirankāris* strictly observes the outward garb and forms of a saintly Sikh and so do his aides and lieutinents. And not without malice afore-thought. Till only recently, their public gatherings were invariably centred around the cere-

monious installations of the Sikh scripture, *Guru Granth Sahib*, that the Sikhs revere as the visible symbol and form of the Light and the Vehicle of the Grace of God, accessible to man in the form of the Guru's Word and Testament. This Sikh doctrine and faith foretaught by five centuries, the latest modern development in European religious thought and theological dogmatics (Karl Barth, 1886—1968) that recognises distinction between the Word and a religion by accepting that while the former is God's self-revelation to man, the latter is the product of human culture and aspirations and is not to be identified with saving revelation, for, salvation can come only from God and not from man. Almost all these pseudo-nirankāris are ignorant, unlettered commonality, familiar with nothing about religion and sophisticated thought except the portmanteau jargon of Sikhism, in Lewis Carroll's sense of a word, packed with sense and sound of many words, capable of being employed successfully for ridiculing and creating confusion about Sikhism. In their writings and preachings their main and primary concern and pre-occupation is to misinterpret and to corrupt Sikh doctrines and Sikh beliefs and thus to confound and insult the Sikh scripture publicly. This nefarious and criminal game has been going on, unchecked, for the last twenty or so years and has given rise to many near-riot scenes between the Sikhs and these Sikh-baiters. In their gatherings, they display the Sikh scripture (Holy Guru Granth Sahib) in traditional ceremonial robes as Sikhs do, but degrade it by placing it on a lower-level platform than the one on which their Chief or main preacher seats himself. No graver provocation can be offered to Sikh religious sentiments when these antics are publicly and maliciously indulged in. A parallel would be, if a non-Hindu placed a Hindu ikon or sacred idol under his feet in public and then unfavourably

commented upon the religious concept implicit in this ikon or idol. The grave provocation involved is equal in magnitude to the insult to Hindus and Hinduism that Mahmud of Ghazna offered, by carrying the sacred *lingam* of Somnath to the Jami 'mosque of his capital to place it on its footsteps for being treated over by Muslim worshippers, in the 12th century. The point is not that the Sikhs demand or expect everybody to accept the Sikh scripture the way the Sikhs regard it, the point is that they resent and rightly so, its profanation and calculated insult to it by others. (2) In their writings and in their preachings they pretend to pick up a sacred text out of the Sikh scripture to explain and comment upon it as Sikhs do in their congregations and then ridicule, twist and misinterpret it by design. The exegesis of the sacred text is invariably prefaced by the remark : "This fellow here says" : *kahindā hai*, a gross form of disrespect and insult to the Sikh Prophets and Sages through whom the Sikh revelations are indicated in their scripture as having been manifested. This gross insult is repeated publicly, on every occasion, in word and in writing. In the June, 1964 issue of their official publication, the *Sant Nirankārī*, this *kahindā hai* insult is reproduced as having come out of the mouth of 'God Almighty', Avtar Singh, himself. (3) Such commentaries, when reproduced in the *Sant Nirankārī* and their other publications always bear the caption : "Testament by the True King" : *vichār sri sache pātshah*. The Sikhs have traditionally referred to their Gurus and Prophets, as *sachā pātshāh*, the Spiritual Master, and these pseudo-nirankaris have appropriated this title for their Chief deliberately, to substitute him for the Sikh Gurus and to outrage maliciously the Sikh religious beliefs. (4) In their gatherings and concourses the frequently refer to the Sikh scripture as, "a big bulky, useless volume of miscellaneous writings",

pothā,¹ “a didactic miscellany”² in contradistinct ionto a compendium of sacred texts, just to outrage the religious beliefs and feelings of the Sikhs. In June, 1973, at Nagpur, the wife of Gurbachan Singh, who is pompously styled as *Rāj-mātā*, ‘the Queen Mother’, made a public speech in which she said that, “My husband alone is the Deliverer of Mankind in this Age ; he alone can emancipate you. No useless and pointless big bulky volume of so-called Divine Testament (here, she pointed towards the Sikh scripture) can do you any good.”³ In the August, 1964 issue of the *Sant Nirankārī*, the Sikh scripture *Guru Granth Sahib*, is described as a “book containing writings of 70-72 (*sic.* actually, 35) educated persons who believed in no religion or *dharma*.” In this issue, the President of the Nirankari Mission, the Delhi-based Supreme Organisation of these pseudo-*nirankāris*, further asserts that all writings in the *Sant Nirankārī* are “divinely revealed”, *anbhavī gyān*, of the identical order as is claimed for the Sikh sacred text of the *Guru Granth Sahib*. (5) In the June, 1964 issue of the *Sant Nirankārī* in an essay, “What is true Revelation”, *gurbānī kī hai*, it is said about *Guru Granth Sahib* as follows :

How can any sensible person call the writings in this big bulky book, a Revelation ? True, it contains didactic material but nothing more.”⁴

In the April, 1964 issue of this Journal (p. 31) a follower of the ‘Sustainer of the entire Universe’, Gurbachan Singh, records his confession of conversion to this new religion thus :

1. Partap Singh, Giani, *Naklī Nirankārī*, IV Ed., 1975, Amritsar, p. 95.
2. *Ibid.* p. 90.
3. *Naklī Nirankārī*, *Ibid.*, p. 95.
4. ਕਾਨੂੰਨੀ ਧਾਰਾਵਾ ਦੇ ਏਤੇ ਵਜੋਂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਨੂੰ ਗੁਰਬਾਣੀ ਕਿਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਕਹਿ ਸਕਦੇ ਹਾਂ, ਜਾਂ ਲਿਖਦਾ ਕੇ ਨਜ਼ੀਰਤਾ ਚਰੂਰ ਹਨ । (p. 28).

"I, the lowliest of the lowlies, was much devoted to diligent study of the Sikh scripture. This craze is now all over. It will surprise all except my fellow- *nirankāris*, for they might wonder, how such a change is possible."¹

These instances of anti-Sikh dynamism and stances of this new religion are just illustrative and by no means exhaustive.

12. PROVOCATION

The methodology evolved and constantly practised to insult Sikh beliefs and institutions and to provoke publicly Sikh religious susceptibilities, is no less crude and objectionable. (1) The congregations of these pseudo-*nirankāris*, whether in the presence of Gurbachan Singh, the 'Sustainer of the entire Universe' or otherwise, invariably begin and end with hymn-singing the *sabad-kirtan*, mode of Sikh worship, and in these hymn-singing sessions the sacred and pious Sikh poems are intermixed and entwined with anti-Sikh apocrypha and self-made verses calculated to profane Sikhism and to insult its sacrosanct dignity. This mock *kirtan*, thus, becomes of the genere of the anti-Christ Black Mass of mediaeval Christian history, not enacted in secret privacy like the Black Mass, but publicly, in centres of dense Sikh populations and on occasions of traditional Sikh religious gatherings, to insult Sikh religion, to mock at Sikh practices and to provoke Sikhs into violent protest or dishonourable submission. These hymn-sessions end, invariably, with their litany :

"Gurbachan Singh is the Descent of Divinity on Earth,
He is the Sustainer of the entire Universe.
(O, Gurbachan) your Will is the sole measure of Goodness.
For, you are the eternal living God."²

1. ਦਾਸ ਨੂੰ ਗੁਰਬਾਣੀ ਪੜ੍ਹਨ ਦਾ ਸੈਕ ਸੀ। ਉਹ ਸਭ ਹੁਣ ਖਤਮ ਹੋ ਚੁੱਕਾ ਹੈ। ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰੀ ਪਾਠਕਾ ਤੋਂ ਇਲਾਵਾ ਬਾਕੀ ਪੜ੍ਹਨ ਵਾਲੇ ਹੈਰਾਨ ਹੋਣਗੇ ਕਿ ਸਚ ਮੁਚ ਹੀ ਖਤਮ ਹੋ ਚੁੱਕਾ ਹੈ?
2. ਆਇਆ ਬਚਨ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਵਤਾਰ, ਸਾਰੇ ਜਗ ਦਾ ਪਾਲਣਹਾਰ।
ਜੇ ਤੁਧੁ ਭਾਵੇ ਸਾਈ ਭਲੀ ਕਾਰ, ਤੂ ਸਦਾ ਸਲਾਮਤ ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰ ॥

The last couplet of this litany is from the Sikh scripture, *Guru Granth Sahib*, which enunciates that, God's Will is the Matrix and final Test of human ethical judgement and He is the eternal Living God. The first two lines are a piece of crude versification in the *Avtarbāni* of these pseudo-*nirankāris* and by joining these two couplets the Sikh sacred text has been grossly profaned and put into service of deification of Gurbachan Singh. Nothing could be conceived as more provoking to the Sikh religious sentiments. As the April, 1972 issue (p. 26) of the *Sant Nirankāri* shows, the pious text of Bhai Gurdas, *jāhar pīr jagat gur bābā*, 'Guru Nanak is the living Light and Guide of mankind' has been perverted by these pseudo-*nirankāris* into *Jāhar pīr Gurbachan bābā*, '(Baba) Gurbachan is the Light and Guide of mankind'. (2) Gurbachan Singh has given the title-names to certain of his followers in mock imitation of Sikh hierarchy of Prophets and saints. His wife is ceremonially addressed as *Mātā Triptā*, the name of the mother of Guru Nanak. His son has been actually named Gobind Singh, not as a mark of reverence for Guru Gobind Singh, as many Sikhs do, but as a mockery of the last Sikh Prophet. On the Baisakhi (13th April) of 1973, at Hoshiarpur in Punjab, this Gurbachan Singh, who has named his son as, Gobind Singh, created a serious riot by stating in a public gathering that "Guru Gobind Singh, the Sikh Prophet knew nothing about spiritualism or devotion to God; he was just a common hunter, a shikari of birds and animals." So, he could not have named his son, Gobind Singh, in any spirit of reverence towards the Sikh Prophet; it has been done demonstrably, in mocking contempt of the Sikh Prophet. On the same occasion this Gurbachan Singh gratuitously said that when Sikhs reverently gather to clear the silt out of the holy lake at Amritsar, *kārsevā*, in fact, they are engaging in a stupid and futile labour, *bekār-sevā*. Like

sensible persons, he and his followers, ran away into safety when public feeling violently erupted against his crude profanities of and malicious insults to Sikh religion. He has conferred the ceremonial name and titles of *Baba Buddha*, (the Sikh patriarch), *Bebe Nanki* (the sister of Guru Nanak) *Bhagat Kabir* (the revered saint of Sikhology), *Mira Bai* (the peerless, God-intoxicated medieval princess), and so on and so forth, on certain of his followers, men and women, to exhibit what malice and contempt reside in the bosom of this man against Sikhism and the galaxy of Sikh saints. (2) As reported in the April 1966 issue of the *Sant Nirankārī* (p. 7), Avtar Singh, in a public gathering at Delhi on the 27 February, 1966, proclaimed that,

“while Guru Gobind Singh
had ordained only Five
Beloved Ones as the founding
members of the Khalsa, the
apotheosis of Sikhism, I,
Avtar Singh, have now ordained
Seven Beloved Ones”.

Gurbachan Singh, the son and successor of Avtar Singh, has now re-named these seven Beloved Ones, *panj pyārās*, as Seven Stars, *satt sitārās*, betraying his deep attachment to the movie-cult and intimate interest in cine-literature. Incidentally, on the fateful day of the 13th April, 1978, this Gurbachan Singh was taken in a huge procession, under the police protection, through the winding streets of the holy city of Amritsar, and throughout, *en route*, it was being repeatedly proclaimed on the loud-speaker, addressing a million strong Sikh pilgrims : ‘Behold, Baba Gurbachan, the real Guru of the age who is competent to release Sikhs from the bonds of transmigration. While Guru Gobind Singh could ordain only Five Beloved Ones, he, Gurbachan Singh, has ordained Seven Stars for ele-

vation of mankind.' It was this grave provocation, audaciously offered to the gathered Sikh pilgrims at Amritsar on this fateful day that outraged the Sikh religious feelings, and on learning that Gurbachan Singh and his followers were still repeating this and other similar insults to the Sikh religion and sentiments, a batch of respectable and disciplined Sikhs marched in protest to the venue of Gurbachan Singh's gathering and were stopped by the policemen on duty, about two hundred yards away, till the private militia of Gurbachan Singh, massacred the un-suspecting Sikhs, the police lending a helping hand by teargassing the Sikh protestors.

(3) When the Fifth Nanak, Guru Arjun (1563-1606), established Amritsar as the centre of Sikh religion, the first sacred tank he got dug-up, was *Santokhsar*. Avtar Singh has recently dug up a ditch at his headquarters at Delhi and has named it *Santokhsar*, with the deliberate and malicious intention of insulting the Sikh religion.

(4) *Mahāpursha* is a Budhist appellation for a perfected, fully integrated man as the opposite number of the vedic *āryā*, 'the noble man'. *Brahmagyāni* is the Upanisadic term for the highest, spiritually evolved soul. In Sikhism both these words are transvalued and re-interpreted as identical in content, designating a 'perfect man', *Insānul-akmal* concept of the eleventh century Muslim philosopher, Abdul Karim Jilli, and in the Sikh scripture, *mahāpurusha* and *brahmagyāni* are interchangeably employed to denote a fully evolved and spiritually perfected man. The vedic concept of *āryā* is not inducted into Sikh religious terminology owing to its undertones of caste and distinction by birth. The pseudo-*nirankāris*, through their Chiefs, the Father and the Son, Avtar Singh and Gurbachan Singh, has entitled a few dozens of their followers as *mahāpurushas* or *brahmgyānis*, all hawkers, and petty traders, rustics and ignoramuses, decrepit

social drop-outs and rejects. In their congregations and public gatherings these persons are ceremoniously presented to the audience, with the object and intention of mocking at Sikhism and insulting Sikh doctrines and beliefs. (5) In 1972, Gurbachan Singh, to outdo the Agha Khan and Asiatic emperors and magnates of the past ages, had himself publicly weighed against bundles of Reserve Bank of India paper-currency. Whether this weighing ceremony was a proof positive of the divinity of Gurbachan Singh or merely a device to convert smuggled money or secret funds into white, legitimate money, is not a direct issue between the Sikhs and Gurbachan Singh's caucus. Photographs of this royal and spectacular ceremony widely appeared in the Press and these photos carried a caption underneath : *ape kanda tol toraji ape tolan hara*. This is a text from *Guru Granth Sahib* (*Suhi I.*) wherein the Sikh scripture, in reference to the human numinous experience of God, poses the question :

“Who shall measure the Glory of God and
weigh His Greatness ?
Who the supervisor and which the
weighing apparatus ?”

And the answer is supplied in the text under reference and its concluding lines :

“Who else but God Himself
can be the measurer and weigher, the
weighing machine and the supervisor,
because, as it is, human mind is purblind
and feeble, human reason self-limited and
capable of moving only on set rails, infected with
distracting mercuriality and alienated from its Base.”

1. “ਆਪੇ ਕੰਡਾ ਤੇਲ ਤਰਾਜੀ ਆਪੇ ਤੇਲਣਹਾਰਾ ॥”

Gurbachan Singh and his cronies have, in this instance, not only fully equated Gurbachan Singh with God the Almighty and the Transcendent but, in the process, have denigrated the Sikh Vision of God, the Sikh understanding of the human existential situation, with the evil and malacious intention of confounding the Sikh religion and outraging the religious feelings of the Sikhs. Such instances and antics of these enemies of Sikhism are there in any number but the point has been made out that, the 'religion' which Gurbachan Singh and his late father, preach and have preached is no religion at all. A religion deals with 'the sacred', the sacred as forbidden, the sacred as mysterious, the sacred as secret and the sacred as potent, but the pseudo-*nirankāri* cult deals with no secret, sacred mystery and is exclusively concerned with earthly pleasures and gratification of human passions. Religion is an ensemble of scruples; a repudiation of all scruples is plain anti-religion, that is, pseudo-*nirankāris*. This cult, besides, is demonstrably a conspiracy, a ploy and a facade for destroying Sikhism through a crude methodology of corrupting and insulting Sikhism and outraging Sikh beliefs. How can such a sadistic and satanic enterprise be protected by or seek protection under Article 25 of the Constitution of India, as is being demanded ? The Article 25 lays down that, "freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practice and propagate religion" is constitutionally guaranteed in India, 'subject to decency, law and order and public morality'. The 'religion' and activities of Gurbachan Singh cannot attract this provision as applicable to their case.

13. POLITICAL GAME

The real political dynamism behind this high conspiracy to demoralise and destroy Sikhism as a world-religion and to liquidate Sikhs as a political

people, has been known in knowledgeable circles for the last over a dozen years, but there has been a conspiracy of silence, to keep mum over it, by the national media and the political power-wielders, for reasons of expediency. In an early last week issue of April, 1978 of the Chandigarh edition, the Daily *Indian Express*, however a public-spirited leader, Sat Pal Baghi of Ferozepore, has spelt out briefly some of the unvarnished truth, as follows :

"The genesis of the real trouble between the *Nirankāris* and Akalis goes back to the years when Mrs. Indira Gandhi headed the Union Government. She wanted to weaken the Shiromani Akali Dal but found that Akalis could not be brought to heel. She thought of an elaborate plan to strengthen the *Nirankāri* sect not only in Punjab but throughout the country and abroad also. Official patronage was extended to the *Nirankāris* much to the chagrin of Akalis who have always considered the *Niraukāris* as heretics.

In pursuit of this policy of divide and rule, Mrs. Gandhi personally gave clearance for a diplomatic passport to be issued to the *Nirankāri* Chief, and the Indian High Commissioners and Ambassadors abroad were instructed to show him respect and regard. This was meant to help the sect to improve its image and increase its following abroad.

During Mrs. Gandhi's regime, the *Nirankāris* were known to be receiving financial help from secret Government funds not open to audit or scrutiny by Parliament.

During the Emergency the recalcitrant attitude of the Akalis further annoyed Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Sanjay Gandhi. Efforts for building a parallel organisation among the Sikhs of Punjab as a counterblast to the Akalis were intensified. At the instance of Mrs. Gandhi, the Congress regime, began giving greater official patronage to the *Nirankāri*, sect. Mr. H. S. Chhina, I. A. S., a staunch *Nirankāri*, was appointed Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government in 1976.

As a result of open official patronage and support this sect got a considerable boost within the administrative set-up of the Punjab Government. Mr. Chhina appointed Mr. Niranjan Singh, I.A.S., as Deputy Commissioner of Gurdaspur. Mr. Niranjan Singh tried his best to enlarge the field of operation of the *Nirankāri's*. It is during this period that the Sant of Bhindranwale took up the challenge posed by this growing sect."

Sat Pal Baghi might have also added that the Government of India directive to their ambassadors abroad specifically stated that all necessary steps must be taken to boost Gurbachan Singh amongst the Sikhs settled abroad.

14. IT HAPPENED BEFORE

This phenomenon, in which Sikh religious sensibility is calculatedly outraged and their human dignity cruelly injured, has its historical antecedents in this part of the world. It was in the late twenties of this century that a cultural ancestor of the present anti-Sikh Hindu urban crust wrote and published a small book, purporting to be a research-paper in history, under the title of *Rangīlā Rasūl* : 'Mohammad, the pleasure loving Prophet'. The matrimonial history of this God-intoxicated and world-shaking Prophet was recounted in this booklet in minute details supported by authoritative Muslim writings, and by slants and twists well familiar to history writers, the conclusion was drawn and spelt-out that Mohammad was a lascivious, lecherous man. The booklet was concluded with the mocking epilogue : *Bol Rangīlā Rasūl kī jai*. Anybody who knows anything about Islam and Muslim sensitiveness and sensibility knows that it is basic to them that while "liberties with God are permissible, not so with Mohammad" : *bā khudā dīwānā bāsh, wa, bā Mohammad hoshiār*. The entire Muslim world of India writhed in anguish at this gross insult to and attack on

the Muslim community but they were laughed at and chided by the citified Hindu Press of Lahore, for being primitive, medieval, religious fanatics, unreformed by sophistication and modern liberal education that teaches objective, critical thinking and dispassionate judgements. To assuage Muslims' feelings the British authorities in Punjab, however, prosecuted in a law-court the publisher of the offensive booklet, under Section 295 of the Indian Penal Code, the only statutory provision available in relation to insults to religion. This provision makes it an offence punishable with imprisonment for two years, 'to injure or defile a place of worship or any object held sacred by any class of persons, with the intention of insulting the religion of others.' The publisher was convicted in the lower court but the Lahore High Court acquitted him, for good reasons, because in the *Rangila Rasūl*, neither a place of worship nor a sacred object had been defiled or injured. The book had maliciously insulted the Muslim religion and outraged the religious feelings of Muslims. It was at this stage that a wailing dirge was often heard in the towns of Punjab during nocturnal stillnesses.

"O, my Mester, the Messenger of God,
My agony is as great as was yours.
When they persecuted you to flee from Mecca to Medina.
Give me a place of refuge similar to the one God gave
to you.

My cruel neighbours would not let me live in peace in
India."

In their utter anguish and unredeemed despair the Indian Muslims felt impotent in their rage and consequently a Muslim, 'Ilm Din, by name, murdered the publisher of the offensive booklet in broad day light, for, the real

1. mere maulā bulā le medīne mujhe
yahān hind mein denge na jīne mujhe

author had remained anonymous. 'Ilm Din was convicted and hanged to death for wilful murder under Section 302 of the Indian Penal Code. The funeral procession of 'Ilm Din was a huge event, led by no less a person than Sir Mohammad Iqbal, the Poet of the East' and Maulana Zafar Ali, 'the Father of Urdu Journalism' to demonstrate the magnitude of injury felt by the entire body of Indian Muslims. This, however, gave rise to a general impression in the minds of those who perversely believe that to insult the religion and to outrage the religious sentiments of a fellow citizen is a fundamental right of 'freedom of expression' and 'liberty of conscience, and that such a fundamental right must be repeatedly asserted. Soon after, somebody in the West Punjab, named a pack-donkey of his, as *Mohammad*. This was no offence under the law as High Court Judgement in the *Rangila Rasul* case had shown. An outraged Muslim murdered the owner of this pack-donkey and was hanged to death by the judicial courts. Muslims were in deep, desperate despair. Not long after, another protagonist of 'freedom of expression' and 'liberty of conscience named his dog as, *Ahmad*, a proper name of the Prophet of Islam. A Muslim murdered this owner of the dog also for which he paid with his life on the scaffold. At this stage the authorities of the British raj took notice of the gravity of the situation and placed a new provision of law on the statute, as 295-A Indian Penal Code, which, as it stands, reads :

"Whoever with deliberate and malicious intention of outraging the religious feelings of any class of citizens of India, by words, either spoken or written, or by signs, or by visible representation or otherwise insults or attempts to insult the religion or the religious beliefs of that class, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both."

This offence under Section 295 A.I.P.C. when committed, is not 'cognisable', that is, neither a police officer on duty, nor a private citizen, can initiate proceedings against the offender; only the State may, in its discretion, do so. But under Section 10 (1) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1932, the State Government may declare by notification that this offence shall be cognisable when committed in an area, specified. Since such offences, then, altogether stopped in British India, no notification under Section 10 (1) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act became necessary till 1947. But the process of events that led to bloody communal riots in various parts of India till the creation of India and Pakistan and the partition of the country itself, with tragic losses in men, money and property, is directly and rightly traceable to the attitudes of a section of the majority community exemplified in the matter of *Rangilā Rasūl* and the names given to a donkey and a dog. That is how Pakistan was conceived, born and established through bloodshed, and all other explanations are spurious and off the mark.

15. CONTINUOUS SIKH-BAITING

During the last ten or twelve years, these pseudo-*nirankāris* have merrily and continuously indulged in the game of Sikh-baiting and many times it has led to near-riots, obliging police authorities to intervene. On 3rd October, 1966, these pseudo - *nirankāris*, at Hansi, in Haryana, provoked the Hindu population into riotous protests leading to serious injuries to many persons and intervention of the police because young innocent girls were being taught sexual laxities of this sect. At Hoshiarpur, at Ludhiana, at Pathankot, at Chowk Mehta, there have been riotous protests during the last few years against gross insults hurled by them at Sikhism and the Sikh community, but apart from dispersing and arresting

outraged Sikhs, the Government authorities no where have taken any concrete steps to check and control this situation. Neither any prosecution of the offending pseudo-*Nirankāris* has been launched nor preventive steps taken by specifying areas, under Section 10 (1) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, where such provocations to Sikh religious feelings shall become cognisable offences, authorising police authorities to intervene on the spot. The agony of the Sikhs is no less intense than was that of the Muslims before Partition of India but the Sikhs have no place outside India to migrate to or to regard it as their refuge. and the Sikhs have been softened and conditioned during the last fifty years to bear and put up with insults to their religion and all forms of other oppression, patiently and without demur, under the sinister preachings and spell of the narcotic cult of non-violence, much against the clear directives of their Gurus, their Prophets, not to turn the other cheek before a tyrant, not to take lying down any insult to their religion, their self-respect and their human dignity. The Sikh Gurus have bidden them to reply to the whip-crack of an oppressor with a thunder-bolt and not to die with a whimper but to "die fighting to the bitter end." In Sikh history there are recorded half a dozen cases where the Sikh Gurus themselves and Sikhs afterwards, have deemed it as a question of life and death where deliberate and malicious insult or outrage to their religious susceptibilities and their human dignity was shown, irrespective of what the circumstances and what the consequences. On the 13th April, 1978, at Amritsar, a peaceful batch of Sikh religious devotees, disciplined and of high social positions all of them, marched towards the gathering of the pseudo-*Nirankāris*, their tormentors and traducers, to protect and plead, but they were stopped some two hundred yards away by the police on duty, till a

para-military armed platoon of the *Nirankārī Sevā Mandal*, of which Gurbachan Singh, 'The Sustainer of the entire Universe' is himself the appointed Chief, arrived to murder a dozen and a half of them on the spot and to wound grievously about seventy more.

16. THE ROOTS

Sri Aurobindo Ghose (1872-1950) is the great ideologue of the modern Hindu nationalism. It is this Hindu nationalism that has come out as supremely triumphant out of the tragic partition of India, in 1947. Nirad C. Chaudhry is a cultural analyst of international repute and is a living reliable interpreter of contemporary Hindu mind. Both of them have something pertinent to say that puts the current tragic predicament of the Sikhs in India into lime-light focus. In his prestigious book, *The Foundations of Indian Culture*, Aurobindo Ghose points out that emergence of Sikhism in India "is a strikingly original" phenomena in the long cultural history of India, as it is the only 'movement' which is forward-looking and not merely re-interpretative, renascent or retrograde, as all other cultural or religious movements in India during the last two millenia have been. Thus Sikhism alone has the potency and will to grapple with the future and to come to terms with it, without compromising the enduring values of Hindu Culture. Possibly, basing his intuitive understanding on a study of Sikh history, he says :

"The culture which gives up its living separateness...which neglects its active self-defence will be swallowed up and... (the people) which lived by it will lose its soul and perish."

What options are being left, in free India, to the Sikhs : to agree to spiritual suicide by quietly and submissively relinquishing their living separateness, of exercising no

active self-defence and thus to lose their soul and perish ? This is the ancient maxim of Hindu politics, outlined in the *Arthasāstra* (1st century), under the nomenclature of *matsyanyāya*, the 'Fish Justice', laying down that the obligation and final destiny of a small fish is to submit to being gobbled up by the big fish. It is on record that during early fifties when the Sikh leader, Master Tara Singh reminded Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru of the solemn promises given to the Sikhs before 1947 to establish an autonomous region in free India wherein Sikhs can freely flourish as Indian nationals according to their own genius, Nehru informed Master Tara Singh that, "now the circumstances have changed." Home Minister Katju, openly told Master Tara Singh during the same period that the true destiny of Sikhs, now, is to give up their separate identity and merge indistinguishably into the inchoate mass of Hinduism. It is believed, on good grounds, that the pseudo-*nirankārī* movement has been boosted and catapulted into power and influence by set policies of the previous rulers at Delhi, to help dissolution of the Sikh identity, paralyse their spiritual potential and deprive them permanently of their control of their own history. Nirad C. Chaudhry, in his book, *The Island of Circe* is forthright in indicating as to who might be the architects of this blue-print to achieve, as the modern political euphemism might say, "the final solution of the Sikh problem", which in earlier, less sophisticated times used to be called, 'genocide'. Nirad Chaudhry tells the world that today, the

"the Hindus are the masters and rulers of India. They have regained political power after many centuries, and are fully aware of it, perhaps, over-aware...As the current jargon describes all the non-Hindus, they are *only minorities.*"

17. WITHOUT HOPE OF REPRIEVE

During the 18th and 19th centuries, the Sikhs were internationally recognised as a sovereign political nation and the Sikh State, *Sarkar Khalsa*, extended from Jamuna to Jamrud and Aksai Chin to the appulse of Baluchistan. Their State and sovereignty was lost not on the battle-field, but through treachery at the negotiating table. In the Freedom struggle of India, they have made sacrifices out of all proportions to their small numbers despite deliberate erasures of them from all officially prepared records including the time-capsule buried in the Old Fort at Delhi. The outgoing British, in 1947, formally recognised them as the third legitimate heir to the Sovereignty of undivided India, besides Hindus and Muslims, but they remained steadfast in loyalty to the concept and ideal of an undivided India and a single Indian nation, for which temerity they paid a price, the details of which are not directly relevant here. Since 1947, they have strained their every nerve and staked their entire potential in developing and defending India, on the agricultural farm and in the industrial factory, for fraternal togetherness and for victory on the field of battle. But they are, so they feel and not without reason that, their destiny has been fixed as expendable, as manure and as a vanishing quantity in the crucible of the Indian political laboratory. Many of our brave and brilliant military Generals have died in mass-accidents or of coronary shocks of supersessions. Many others have been used and thrown into dustbins. Some of our able and capable Civil Servants have been liquidated unceremoniously against law and good conscience, and others have been by the Rulers degraded and demoralised. Psycho-economic offensive have continuously been planned and mounted against us to reduce our numbers in the country, to obliterate our political significance, to eliminate our natural pre-

emience in the armed forces and to sap our basic spiritual vitality and lower our civic dignity. Public media and law courts have frequently treated us as less than citizens of India, through judicial decisions that hold others more equal in law than Sikhs, the facts being identical and the law applicable being the same. Our unshaken pride in and loyalty to the integrity of the country and the goal of a united nation has been viewed as unreliable and suspicious and our moves to press and highlight our just demands had often been met with bullets, smear-campaigns, pervert findings of quasi-judicial investigations and hostile policies, and the death-sentence pre-determined against us is made to appear as without any hope of reprieve. It was in this background that the Sikhs entered on a last-ditch, sustained and successful struggle against the Congress rule at Delhi, culminating in the Emergency regime, even when others had surrendered or retreated, hoping that a new dispensation and a chastened political leadership at Delhi might have a second look at the Sikh situation, with a view to reappraising their true legitimate position in India and to afford them a let-up from the suffocation and strangulation which has been their lot, since 1947. In the massacre of Sikhs at Amritsar, on the 13th of April, 1978 the Sikhs fail to see a silver lining.

The Sikhs, nevertheless, reiterate that their loyalty to the great spiritual heritage of their country, their determination to stand by and defend the ideal of a United India and one Indian nation and their faith that some day, sooner than later, a new and juster understanding of the Sikhs will arise, remain as firm and steadfast as ever.

18. TRUE FELICITY FOR MAN

If man would have true felicity and
his existential situation redeemed,
Then let him accept and act Truth, remembering Him.
Let him be humble altogether and thus be done with God.
Let him hurt no one and thus abide steadfast
in the inner peace of his own heart.
Nanak testifies for all to hear : God is
omnicompetent to purify and exalt the
fallen and the debased.

ਸਿਸੁ ਸਰਘਮ ਪਾਫਨ ਨੈ ਜੀਐ ਮੇ ਮਜ਼ਹ ਮਾਛਿ ।
ਝੋੜ ਦੇ ਖੋਪ ਠਥੂ ਠਮ ਇਕ ਨਾਮੁ ਧਿਆਵਿ ।
ਹੋਇ ਸਗਲ ਕੀ ਰੇਣਕਾ ਹਲਿਸੰਗਿ ਸਮਾਵਿ ।
ਦੁਖ ਨ ਚੇਦਿ ਬਿਮੈ ਜੀ ਸਾਪਤਿ ਸਿਭਿ ਘਿਆਵਿ ।
ਪਤਿ ਪੁਰੀ ਤਕ ਭਾਪੁ ਰਖ ਨ ਕਿ ਸੁਣਾਵਿ ॥